THE New Republic

Fighting the Recession with Price Cuts

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Do Rational People Make War?

An Interview with Physicist Isidor Rabi

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THE PRACTICE OF JUDICIAL RESTRAINT

An Essay on Learned Hand by Alexander M. Bickel

MAY 12, 1958

25 cents

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Washington Wire

Flying Low

THIS COLUMN now boldly predicts there will be a tax cut. Its kind we don't know. It will come just because things can't go on like this. It will occur, if not sooner, when the Administration asks Congress to continue the big batch of Korean war excise taxes which expire June 30.

The economy is like a sluggish airplane take-off. The plane is off the ground all right, the Administration is jubilant at the feat of "recovery." Experienced pilots, on the other hand, look down at the treetops just below and blanch. At the controls sits Eisenhower unwilling to give the mighty motors the gun because the airplane might soar into inflation later on!

Danger—Success

THIS IS THE 25th anniversary of TVA; "quite possibly the greatest single American invention of the century," John Gunther calls it. The unified approach to resource development in a river basin is an American triumph. "In almost every country the initials 'TVA'," remarked Julian Huxley, "stand for the multiple use of a single river to meet all the needs of man." An American's heart beats with pride as he sees visitors from all over the world coming to see TVA as a "must": the president of Mexico, the Regent of Belgium, India's Nehru, the German vice chancellor: they come because they want to try the same thing at home. The great Chattanooga "flood" of 1957 never happened; why?—because mighty dams trapped and played checkers with the raging waters, sluicing them impotently from one watershed to another. TVA is inspiring—and still in danger. A UP item listed US Chamber of Commerce resolutions, April 30, including this—"The TVA should be reduced in size and scope, and no similar Federal power authorities established in the future." Creeping socialism, go away!

Organized labor is in a bad spot; months of Senate revelations of racketeerings on one side, and 5.5 million unemployed on the other. It now looks as though the California election this fall will be a supreme test of labor's ability to defend itself. Already the big build-up of Sen. William Knowland (R.), running for governor on a "right-to-work" platform, has begun. No industrial state has yet adopted this crippling anti-labor provision. If Knowland wins this fall every big state will try it. California will provide a referendum in what is apt to be the most important election in the nation.

Referendum on Labor

KNOWLAND has maneuvered shrewdly on the Senate floor. He knew he had no chance of affixing labor control legislation as a rider to the bi-partisan bill regulating industrial pension and welfare funds. He also knew the attempt would acutely embarrass the GOP Eastern "liberal" wing. But the resurgent Old Guard is now in full control. They wanted to dramatize the labor issue and succeeded even though they suffered temporary defeat.

Will Knowland and the Radical Right win in California? It is a toss-up. Early opinion polls put Knowland behind. But nearly every big periodical in the country is going to give Knowland a boost before it is over; the *Reader's Digest* is out already. They see what is at stake in labor's vulnerable position. Knowland remembers that his mentor, Taft, beat the AFL and "Jumping Joe" Ferguson handily in Ohio in 1950. There is one big difference. His opponent, California's Democratic attorney general, Pat Brown, is no Jumping Joe. He won't be easy to beat.

Magazine Rack

WE LOVE those little singing commercials *Time* so often gives Eisenhower in its opening paragraphs; April 14, Ike's was "the clearest springtime voice to be heard last week;" April 21, "the new spirit surged notably;" April 28, he "kept a tight grip on the rule of reasonableness." We searched *Time* (May 5) for its lilting account of the President's outburst at his press conference, the incident that led *Newsweek* to headline: "Why Ike's Temper Showed." Stumped on how to reconcile the singing commercial with the fact, *Time* simply skipped the whole thing. Not a word.

Newsweek, incidentally, on April 28, under title "The Catholic at Harvard" had an interview with gentle British historian, Christopher Dawson, a Catholic convert, who is coming over to teach at the Divinity School. He has never before been in the US and observes, "One of the things I want to investigate is the general anti-intellectual aspect of American Catholicism." The French Church isn't anti-intellectual, he declares; yet "for some strange reason higher Catholic education in America bears no fruit. Why?" Appraising what is, and isn't, anti-intellectual is difficult and probably no two people will agree, and yet the widespread Catholic support for McCarthy still rankles in many minds. What caused it; what is the answer?

In Praise of Jones

THIS COLUMN is privileged to report that comments of the late David Dalrymple Jones, martyr of free enterprise, (who starved rather than receive the Dole) keep turning up. "I hope Congress will impose a heavy tariff on cheap European cars," he remarked once; "we must protect our way of life: business free of government intervention."

Jones deeply resented cheap, cynical criticism of the automobile industry, particularly any cavil against tailfins and chrome. "General Motors knows what the public wants," he observed.

A small group has been formed to preserve Jonesisms. He insisted that there is no genuine demand in America for unemployment benefits. "It's just agitation stirred up by a lot of unemployed workers," he observed.

For president of the Jones Commemorative Society we nominate T. R. Iserman, New York attorney, who addressed the US Chamber of Commerce here on "The Growing Power of Unions." They "constitute a more immediate threat to our way of life," he said "than does the military might of Russia."

T.R.B.

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Correspondence

► *Disengagement in Europe*

SIRS:

THE CASE against disengagement seems, from James King's article (*NR*, April 7 and April 14), to be based on two considerations:

1) The inevitable consequences for

(Continued on page 24)

Consumers and Prices

PERSONAL INCOME in this country in 1957 was $1,756 per capita. In the first quarter of 1958, the recession had cut this back to $1,729, an across-the-board loss of $27. But the $1,729, when reduced by the loss of purchasing power of the dollar over just one year, turns out to be $1,697. In other words, while recession was subtracting $27 for every man, woman and child, inflation was subtracting another $32. Looking at these figures, the consumer thinks he deserves a break. So do we. It would be smart, it seems to us, if companies big enough to set administered prices and the major labor unions with which they have contracts were now to consider giving the consumer that break.

Most buyers don't *have* to buy anything big right now. They have a car; they have a house; they have a TV set; their kitchen and utility room are brightened by fairly new appliances. They can run on these for a long time, if they want to. And right now they won't buy for several reasons: Talk about recession has made them canny. Seeing people lose their jobs, watching the repossession trucks stop in front of doors, has made a good many people whose jobs are still solid speed up their repayments of installment credit and hold off making new commitments. Talk about a possible cut in excise taxes on cars and other consumer durables has made "the Joneses" delay their buying, even if they do intend to make a purchase. And perennial optimists wonder whether the present slackening in demand might not bring back a buyer's market with some price reductions. In any case, "the Joneses" don't understand why prices keep on climbing at a time when more and more people are out of work; they feel that this paradox has a hook in it, and they intend to keep off the hook.

The inflation we are experiencing has a long history: it goes all the way back to the bond issues and credit operations of World War II, the price hikes that multiplied with the removal of wartime controls, the federal deficit financing in the boom years that followed. For over a decade and a half, the higher-cost trend has persisted; it still persists as white-collar workers—from beauticians to morticians to physicians—catch up with a procession whose vanguard contains the more highly-organized blue-collar workers. (Both in employment and in payment for services rendered, the white-collared workers are improving their position—some 200,000-300,000 more of them are at work today than were at work a year ago.)

This inflationary trend cannot, without destroying our economy, be absolutely reversed. A rapid rise in bankruptcies would accompany any attempt to reverse it. There are, however, some price reductions which are likely to come about that do not depend upon premeditated action by anyone and are not disruptive. For example, except for citrus the price-increasing effects of the freeze in Florida will be wiped out as the growing season moves northward; at the same time, with the Western

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drought broken and feed plentiful, the livestock cycle has turned. Also, bargain sales of appliances are being widely advertised, though the fact that merchants' inventories are rather low will limit their extent.

Yet, with the steel industry running at half capacity and automobile production wobbling along from week to week, quoted prices in these basic industries are not dropping. Actually, in Pittsburgh and Detroit *additional* costs are about to be built into the price scale, and if history repeats itself, these added costs will shortly show up in higher prices to the consumer. Under the Steel Workers contract that has another year to run, wage-and-fringe benefits are due for an increase at mid-year; in the automotive industry new contract negotiations are under way between the UAW and the major firms. In both instances, an opportunity for deliberate statesmanship is afforded management and the unions. Normally, both sides would think only of dividing earnings and increased productivity between them. In present circumstances, it would be to the advantage of the two parties now contracting to consider a third party: the purchaser.

The currently proved ability of most steel companies to stay in the black on half their capacity volume suggests that the two steel price increases since 1956 considerably exceeded the need to cover the price management paid for labor peace in that election year; it suggests too that there is room for some absorption of reduced steel prices out of profits this year. In the case of the automobile industry, a price cut might be more of a gamble; yet this industry has been built on belief in high volume at low profit per unit. And if the companies were willing to shave profits, the union should be willing to moderate some of its demands. A cut in the price of cars, out in the open instead of whispered as a dealer discount, would end the uncertainty of the customer who is now holding off. Instead of a split between profits and wages, an agreed three-way division to give the consumer a break would be a dramatic means of showing a determination to halt—or at least slow down—the inflation that eats at all earnings.

Unguarded Guardian

"RECENT speeches have shown [Nixon's] capacity to speak with courage and conviction on matters of extreme controversy. These qualities gleam with yet more distinction in the relaxed intimacies of private conversation when he lets his mind brood on the overcast world scene. He ponders with reluctant admiration the Communist gift for planning its strategy against vast stretches of time. Never for one moment does he underestimate the strength of the Communist empire. . . . He has studied these world problems with an incisive and creative mind. What is more, he can state his views with eloquent conviction. Most important of all, it is a generous, constructive, and spacious philosophy. . . . *Nothing is more impressive than his instinctive sympathy for Britain and France, expressing itself in the desire to make the alliance a still stronger shield to protect the threatened freedoms of mankind.*"

—MAX FREEDMAN, *Correspondent for the* Manchester Guardian, *April 17, 1958*

"FOR THE first time in history we have shown independence of Anglo-French policies toward Asia and Africa which seemed to us to reflect the colonial tradition. That declaration of independence has had an electrifying effect throughout the world."

—RICHARD NIXON, *November 2, 1956*

Odds in Indonesia

ALTHOUGH President Eisenhower has gone out of his way to affirm our "careful neutrality" in Indonesia's civil war, most Indonesians, and for that matter most Asians, still take it for granted that the US is neutral on the side of the anti-Sukarno rebels. This was bound to be the case once Secretary Dulles expressed moral support for the rebels (*NR*, Feb. 24, March 31). And Sukarno supporters naturally feel there is something old in Washington's being "neutral" between a legal government to which our ambassador is accredited and a rebellion against that government.

When informed observers place the long-term odds for a Communist Indonesia at 60-40 (compared to 40-60 prior to US identification with the rebels), it is because our policy-makers seem so unaware of the increased handicaps under which American influence labors in Djakarta and so little inclined to take the bold steps which could still preserve Indonesian independence. Yet if there is any hope for retrieving the situation it lies in Washington's boldly supporting a solution of the West Irian dispute looking to eventual Indonesian sovereignty over the Dutch-held Western end of New Guinea; and second, in some indication from Washington that the foreign credits necessary for long-range economic planning are as available here as in Moscow.

For Secretary Dulles to execute an about-face on West Irian would be by far the most awkward of these two steps. But it is also the most crucial. By denying to Communist propagandists the use of West Irian as an anti-Western rallying cry, the US might be able to strengthen moderate nationalists in Sukarno's camp. Sukarno, according to reliable sources, would welcome a settlement which concedes ultimate Indonesian sovereignty over West Irian—say in 10 years—leaving *de facto* control (including bases) in the hands of the ANZUS pact command.

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Detecting Bomb Tests

THE PRINCIPAL technical argument against seeking an agreement with the Russians to stop nuclear bomb-testing has now been discredited, thanks to the efforts of the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee to place the facts about the issue before the public. In recent weeks, Atomic Energy Commission Chairman Lewis Strauss, Dr. Edward Teller and other leading opponents of stopping the tests have fallen back on the claim that it would be impossible to detect violations of such an agreement if the Russians decided to "cheat." A major difficulty in arriving at the truth has been that scientists having access to "classified information" who believe detection is feasible would give testimony only in secret session.

When the Humphrey Subcommittee called Dr. Hans Bethe, Cornell physicist with the highest level "clearance" who has been studying the question of bomb-test detection for the President's Science Advisory Committee, security regulations forced him too to testify behind closed doors. But with his cooperation, the Committee succeeded in persuading the AEC to approve the release of much of what Dr. Bethe had to say. The result is a frontal challenge to the Teller-Strauss position.

Dr. Teller had told the Disarmament Subcommittee on April 16 that a detection system to identify any except very "big" bomb tests is "impractical" and that even if technically feasible, which he denied, would involve such a mammoth inspection system as to be virtually impossible. If we were so foolish as to agree to stop testing, Dr. Teller went on record to predict, the US would wind up "completely helpless," because the Russians could conceal continued tests from us and so take away our "last advantage" in the nuclear field.

Dr. Bethe, recognized as having given more study to this specific question than either Dr. Teller or Mr. Strauss, is now on record to the contrary. "A system has been devised," he told the Subcommittee,

> which if accepted by international agreement, could lower the threshold of detection. . . . This involves stations [in Soviet Russia] for observing acoustic waves, and electromagnetic signals from explosions. . . . If you have such a net you would be in a very good position to detect surface and low air bursts [down to rather low yield] and you could identify them even without collecting radioactive debris. . . . I feel very well assured that a system of stations inside Russia would detect high altitude tests. . . . I believe that a set of seismic stations in both the Soviet Union and China is necessary for a good detection capability for underground bursts.

Having outlined in detail the conditions for a workable agreement, Dr. Bethe went on:

> Now Dr. Teller and a number of other people who are very strongly against test cessation will argue that a country which is intent on violation of the test agreement can defeat the inspection system by conditioning underground tests in surroundings where you get a very small seismic signal. My personal opinion is that this will be true to a very limited extent and if a country is intent on violating a test cessation agreement [it] will have to conduct a lot of experiments underground with low yield weapons to find out whether . . . these are detectable . . . and that somewhere on creeping up on the yield they would be detected.

To stop testing now, Dr. Bethe concludes, would be "considerably to our advantage." "If testing continues, then [the Russians] will surely attain the same level of capability as we and I feel it is just a matter of simple logic that . . . it is more advantageous to stop when you know that you are still ahead." All this is "provided they agreed to a good inspection system."

Chairman Strauss was in the hearing room when Dr. Bethe concluded his testimony. "Do you agree with Dr. Bethe?" Senator Wiley (R, Wis.) asked him. "I yield to Dr. Bethe on technical questions," Strauss replied. "On matters of judgment I suspect that he would agree that my position has perhaps as much validity as his."

We suspect that many who have accepted the validity of the Strauss-Teller argument because they believed it was based on scientific evidence will reject it once they know it rests on political opinions to which even you and I are entitled.

So What?

IN THE May *Harpers* Werner Heisenberg, the physicist who may have—although the Russians angrily assert that he has not—devised equations that will test the validity of Einstein's general field theory, writes that he was led to the serious study of physics by reading Plato's *Timaeus* in the original Greek. As a boy of 17 he read it lying on a roof in Munich, breaking off at intervals to shoot at Communist rebels across the street. He was one of a corps of university students enlisted to suppress the revolt.

Heisenberg's point is that his classical education enabled him to read Greek, and reading the Greek thinkers revealed to him that physics is not a mere sublimation of mechanics, but a vast field of knowledge in which the human mind is as certainly a factor as Planck's constant; and that revelation persuaded him that it is a field worth entering. Heisenberg is so strongly convinced of the value of this experience that he advocates the study of Latin and Greek as a fine introduction to a career in science.

This is interesting, coming as it does from a man who perhaps leads the world in his field, but that it will convince any red-blooded American boy is a matter of doubt. Does Heisenberg know anything important? He may have the equation that will solve the riddle of the universe, but he probably never met a payroll in his life.

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Adjusting to the Reality Of Communist Growth

> The Soviet Government intends to establish the Soviet Union firmly as the greatest industrial power of the earth, not in the distant future but during the life-time of many of the present leaders of the country, though none of them are young men.

THIS comment by Tom Whitney, Associated Press foreign affairs analyst and one-time Chief of the Economic Section of the American Embassy in Moscow, appeared in *The New Republic* of June 11, 1956. Later in '56, candidate Adlai Stevenson also warned that,

> The Soviet planners intend to pull level with America by 1965 and ahead by 1970, and the figures show that these plans are today on schedule. During that period China is to build up a steel industry comparable to that of Western Europe and probably five times greater than that of its chief Asian rival, India.

The Administration showed no signs of concern. And indeed, the Vice President told a Beverly Hills, California, audience that,

> Mr. Stevenson has been guilty, probably without being aware that he was doing so, of spreading pro-Communist propaganda as he has attacked with violent fury the economic system of the United States and praised the Soviet economy. He said recently, "While the American economy has been shrinking [this was at the time when there were signs of a business recession], the Soviet economy has been growing fast, which is one of the most important facts in the world situation. In the long view it is probably a more important fact than the development of Soviet military power." Whatever Mr. Stevenson's purpose may be, such statements of praise for the Soviet economy do the cause of the free world great damage. His dislike for our own economic system is his own business, but when he links such criticism with praise of the rapid growth of the Soviet economy, he is performing a grave disservice to us and the rest of the free world.

Last week, the head of the Central Intelligence Agency performed the same "grave disservice" when he told the US Chamber of Commerce that,

> The Soviet economy has been growing and is expected to continue to grow through 1962, at a rate roughly twice that of the economy of the United States. Annual growth over-all has been running between 6 and 7 percent, annual growth of industry between 10 and 12 percent. . . . Since 1956, Soviet output has continued its rapid expansion. In the first quarter of 1958, Soviet industrial production was 11 percent higher than a year ago. In comparison the Federal Reserve Board index shows a decline of 11 percent in the United States. According to available statistics, in the first quarter of 1958, the Sino-Soviet bloc has for the first time surpassed the United States in steel production.

Since Allen Dulles is responsible, as head of CIA, for collecting information on the external dangers to the US, it was proper for him to stop short of recommending domestic remedies. Yet his analysis is of little value unless its lessons are applied. Dean Acheson has responded by urging an increase in our imports and in our export of capital (plant and equipment), and an overhauling of "international financial institutions to make possible the expansion of world exchange reserves and the provision of more credit where it can be most effective." His prescription is sound enough, as unobjectionable as aspirin.

But let us acknowledge the probability that nothing the US (or the West) does is going to stop the Sino-Soviet bloc from rapidly increasing its economic influence. It has the resources and the manpower; it is acquiring the know-how, and it can harness power to purposes considered most useful by a small ruling group. Is not the first and fundamental lesson to be learned from the Dulles diagnosis that we and our children will live in a world in which the US is no longer the only or even the pre-eminent industrial giant?

The thought is no cause for panic, not if we simultaneously begin to reconsider our economic policies and revise our priorities. Contrary to the National Association of Manufacturers, the pertinent question today is *not* "how much we can afford to spend as a nation"; it is "what does the national interest require"? Or, as the recent Rockefeller Report on the US economy states it: we must develop "a greater and more articulate sense of national purpose . . . we must choose among our aspirations those which carry the highest value."

To that we add that the post-Sputnik era also requires our accepting higher and higher federal budgets; for whatever "modern" or un-modern Republicans want to believe, the New Deal was only the beginning of government spending. Must we then anticipate higher and higher deficits? Not necessarily. As we invest more in enterprises which add strength to the nation (what Mr. Acheson calls "stimulated growth"), surely our capacity to pay for the progress we make will increase as we progress.

From 1953 through 1958, the average annual rate of growth of the US was 2.3 percent. And how we congratulated ourselves on that! But the Rockefeller Report warns that,

> Unless we achieve a 5 percent growth, we shall have to hold back otherwise desirable expenditures in the

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governmental field and keep the growth of private expenditures below a level commensurate with our aspirations.

Right now, the importance of the kind of readjustment in outlook and policies which we have suggested is not too widely appreciated. In part, that is because we have had five years of soothing assurance that "all's well." But Sputnik disturbed the peace. We are confident that further Communist gains will disturb the peace even more; and then we shall begin seriously to think about the facts given us by Mr. Whitney, Mr. Stevenson, and now Allen Dulles.

The Protestant Church in East Germany

Bonn

IT IS a curious fact that events in the field of religion are seldom considered to be "newsworthy." In recent weeks the German press has been preoccupied with such issues as nuclear armaments for the West German armed forces and the agenda of a Summit conference. Only toward the end of April did the realization sink in to the minds of many that just off the political stage, but in the heart of Germany, one of the most alarming of all possible developments was taking place. The Evangelical Churches, representing at least 11 out of 17 million East Germans, were being openly threatened by the Communist regime of Ulbricht and Grotewohl.

It has not seemed necessary to dramatize the conflict between church and state in Eastern Germany in the past. For it has not looked—over the long years during which it has been waged—as if the state has been seeking a quick and unconditional victory. Persecution has only been apparent in its milder forms—monetary grants to the church from the state were cut by 30 percent two years ago, church missions were shut down as "Western spy-centers," religious instruction in the schools was interfered with in a haphazard way, church-windows were smashed with the stones of the Communist "Free German Youth." All this was regrettable but the churches themselves decided to go about their business with tact and resolve, wait for a turn of the tide.

It would seem that one particular issue brought matters to a head. Last autumn the Bishop of Berlin and Brandenburg, Dr. Otto Dibelius—who is also chairman of the all-German Evangelical Church Council—signed an agreement with the Bonn Government under which pastors could be attached to the West German armed forces. The East German Government reacted violently. Dr. Dibelius was bitterly attacked as a supporter of "Fascist reaction." The repeated offers which he made to attach pastors to the East German armed forces were ignored. In December the East German Secretary of State for Church Affairs, Herr Eggerath, issued instructions to all East German Bishops to preach against the use of nuclear weapons by NATO forces and against rearmament.

A tougher attitude was adopted toward individual members of the churches. Two church journals, the *Kirche* and the *Potsdamer Kirche*, were confiscated for publishing details of the agreement to attach pastors to the West German armed forces. Numerous ministers were threatened personally and two of them fled to West Berlin. There they were reproved by the elders of their own church for not having "stayed with their flocks."

The attachment of pastors to the West German armed forces assumed far greater importance when it became clear that these forces would, in time, be given nuclear weapons with NATO approval. The East German Government called upon the Evangelical Church Synod—which met in both East and West Berlin alternately at the end of April—to discuss the banning of nuclear weapons in Western Germany and scrap its existing agenda. The Synod compromised. It included nuclear arms on its agenda, and agreed to absolve ministers of the church in Eastern Germany from all responsibility for the agreement to send pastors to the West German armed forces.

But was this the real issue between church and state? It is, indeed, clear that the East German Government hoped to enlist the support of the Evangelical Church for the banning of nuclear weapons in Germany. This would help to stimulate the Social Democratic "anti- atom-death" campaign in Western Germany, and could embarrass Dr. Adenauer's Government: More than one prominent member of Dr. Adenauer's own Christian Democratic Party has admitted that he does not want the nuclear arming of West Germans, and probably one-third of CDU members belong to Evangelical Churches.

It seems on the whole more likely that the Ulbricht regime is animated by longer-term considerations in its attacks on the churches. The East German leaders have never faltered in their determination to impose a "pure" Communist system on Eastern Germany. They have done this by socializing more than 90 percent of industry, establishing state-farms and cooperatives on the Russian model, reposing political power in the hands of the Communist (Socialist Unity) Party. The churches belong to the "old order." The Evangelical Churches are essentially regarded as enemies of the new order, since they are the only surviving all-German institution.

The regime's principal weapon to undermine the churches has been the attraction of young people out of the churches, in the sure belief that Eastern Germany can in this way be "purged" of the Christian faith in a couple of generations. The members of the "Free German Youth" monopolize scholarships and sports-fields, and the best jobs that are going when they have to earn a living. Some of their members continue to go to church, but very few. Four years ago the East

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German Government began to organize the "Youth Initiation," which at first were treated outside Eastern Germany with some levity. They consisted of a mumbo-jumbo of materialistic jargons, interspersed with some of Goethe's more ambiguous philosophic utterances and crowned with Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl's own slogan (it took him two years to think it out) "Grow beyond the limits of your own being by growing into the fabric of society."

The churches at once recognized the dangers of what looked like a harmless piece of Communist flummery. The "youth initiatees" were to be 14 or 15 years of age—in fact, precisely of confirmation age. They were to be invited to take part in pagan ceremonies as a preferable alternative to confirmation, and the religious instruction which must precede it. Their parents were to be threatened with political reprisals, if they influenced their children in favor of the churches. Bishop Dibelius was mainly responsible for the decision not to confirm children who were initiated.

Battle had been joined. Four years ago very few children attended the youth-initiation ceremonies. In 1956, however, the number climbed steeply to around 50,000 (no official figures have ever been available). This year the churches themselves believe that it may have reached 95,000, or nearly 40 percent of those of confirmation-age. In Leipzig, for instance, 72 percent of the children of confirmation-age were initiated.

Last month the head of the educational section of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, Herr Neugebauer, gave orders that all school-teachers should instruct their classes in dialectical materialism. This order would apply to the 6,000 out of around 20,000 teachers who are practising members of the churches. The Minister of Education, Herr Lange, forbade religious instruction at all higher schools. At the same time he ordered that children of 14 to 16 should work one day a week in a state-owned industrial plant and should undergo an 8 to 14 day course at an industrial or agricultural institution each year. This will take children of confirmation age away from their families.

☆

Where is all this leading? In Berlin Dr. Dibelius pointed out that Christian students were being expelled from schools, that parents were being forced to have their children "named" in civil ceremonies instead of being baptised in church, and that marriage in church and Christian burial were being discouraged. He told members of the Synod that militant atheism was on the march in Eastern Germany.

It should be added, almost as a footnote, that the degree of persecution which Herr Ulbricht and his regime order may be a faithful barometer of Soviet political designs. As Bishop Dibelius has pointed out, there can be no ultimate compromise between Christianity and Communism. If the Russians intend to hold Eastern Germany indefinitely, persecution —in politer form than in the Dark Ages, but just as single-minded in purpose—will be the order of the day.

TERENCE PRITTIE

ROAD TO SPAAKISTAN

(After James Elroy Flecker)

Scene: ***Supreme Allied Headquarters, Paris***

M. SPAAK

The North Atlantic Treaty is our shield,
And if you wish destruction to escape,
Arm Spaakistan, all Europe's battlefield,
Under command of NATO and of SHAPE!

GENERAL NORSTAD

Our lesser Allies now stark facts must face,
On their ground forces sparing no expense,
And be prepared to lend a missile base
For total thermonuclear defense.

MR. MACMILLAN

We follow NATO's lead at every stage,
But, as a Power not second-rate, or third,
Although we'll never plan to disengage,
Foes by our own H-bomb must be deterred.

HERR ADENAUER

NATO can on West Germany depend,
Firm to resist all enemy attack,
But can America leave her best friend
Without our own H-bomb for hitting back?

M. PINEAU

We stand in a most vulnerable state,
Our situation fills us with alarm,
Therefore for NATO's leave we dare not wait—
We're making our own thermonuclear arm.

M. MENDERES

Though Turkey for the West is standing fast,
America must long-range missiles pool.
Her great deterrent will be launched at last,
But Spaakistan is far from Istanbul.

M. LANGE

We are not neutral but we fear to fall
Into the fire out of the frying-pan;
We want no base, no missiles here at all,
Along the stony road to Spaakistan.

GENERAL NORSTAD

NATO is now in charge of the Cold War,
And stern commands and warnings I repeat,
America can tolerate no more,

Either atomic blackmail, or cold feet.
Our whole defense will go to pieces soon
Unless you follow my strategic plan.
And he who pays the piper calls the tune. . . .

M. M. MACMILLAN, ADENAUER, PINEAU,
MENDERES, LANGE

We take the stony road to Spaakistan.

SAGITTARIUS

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American Culture

In Search of Angels—V

The Ford Foundation

THE SEARCH for new institutions to provide support for cultural activities which until modern times relied on individual patrons, leads quite naturally to the doors of the great private foundations. After all, most of the largest among them were established by the very individuals whose increasing scarcity, in these years of high income tax, makes the finding of new financial sources of support for the creative arts as pressing a matter as it is.

Yet to date, most of the major foundations have been shy of venturing into artistic fields, except where such ventures could be closely linked with their educational programs. Fellowships and scholarships, enabling recipients to take further training, to travel or to have free time unencumbered by other responsibilities in which to complete a projected piece of work, have been rather liberally available—the Guggenheim fellowships are only a foremost example.

But support of programs rather than persons, contributions to operating budgets of music, theatre, museum exhibitions, and the like has been a relatively minor item in the annual reports of most foundations; as a result artists who get themselves trained by one means or another may experience great difficulty in connecting with their potential public once they are ready to publish, exhibit or perform. This situation underlines the importance of the major inquiry now under way under the auspices of the Ford Foundation's new program in humanities and the arts.

The program started at the end of 1955, when the accumulation of a pile of requests totalling well into six figures forced upon the Board a necessity either to reemphasize its previous position that it was not going to operate in this field, or to examine the field and acquire a policy based on that analysis.

In March, 1957, first action was taken on a staff proposal for a broad fact-finding effort and an experimental program which would get the Foundation in touch with various segments of its potential clientele.

The fact-finding program, a two-year venture, will when completed provide for the first time in this country a profile of the economic position of each type of artist and the institutions that are the channels for connecting him with his public. To get the necessary data, W. McNeil Lowry, director of the program, and his associates have visited some 68 American communities, reviewing on the spot and in detail how their artistic efforts are currently supported, whether they be symphonies, museums, college art departments, local festivals or whatever. Some 450 people outside New York City, and some 350 Manhattanites have been consulted, some of them in two national conferences representative alike of the various regions of the country and of the main fields of artistic endeavor. When the information thus unearthed is put together, the Foundation expects to have a basis for judging where massive support, if it were decided to supply it, would exert the greatest leverage for enhanced creative activity.

The experimental Ford grants announced last year are paralleling this fact-finding with some modest efforts to enlarge artistic opportunity in several fields:

► Composers who have found means of keeping alive while they finished an orchestral work then face the problem of getting it performed, not only once, but enough times to permit judgment by audiences and critics. Six symphonies from Boston to San Francisco have been enabled over a three-year period to commission one new work apiece. The commissioning orchestra will perform the work it purchases, and at least three of the five other new works. All will be either recorded or put on tape.

► A grant to the Cleveland Playhouse will test the potential audience of small towns for professional theatre: through a system of auditions 20 young actors and actresses will be chosen from whom the Playhouse will select 15 to be in residence for two years at the Playhouse to get training and experience and then go on the road for a 36-week season playing towns in the Middle West.

► The New York City Opera Company has been enabled to put on its current five-week season of American operas written between 1939 and 1957; two-fifths of its budget —$100,000—has been underwritten by the Foundation in case public support is inadequate, plus a small amount to enable young composers and composition teachers to come to New York to watch rehearsals of the 11 compositions that are being offered in nine separate bills. (The possibility is strong that not all of the underwriting will be called upon.)

► The Minneapolis School of Art has been given funds to conduct a five-year experiment in its curriculum, with special emphasis on teaching the visually, rather than verbally, able student.

► For a young singer, once trained, the highest hurdle is a debut; many have to go to the small opera companies of Western Europe to get a hearing at all. A system of debuts, arranged in New Orleans over the last few years under Renato Cellini, has brought forward a number of promising young singers; with the aid of a Ford grant, over the next three years about 20 audition-winners will have eight weeks in New Orleans each year, appearing in at least two major operatic roles during the season.

► Humanistic scholars will be aided both in obtaining

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time to complete their works and in getting them published through two grants, one to the American Council of Learned Societies, for a fellowship and grant-in-aid program along lines already fairly familiar, and a grant to some 30 university presses, based on the volume of their existing operations.

By the time, about 1960, that the Foundation determines its own policy on entering the creative arts field, not only its Board, but the American public generally, will thus have available a thoroughly worked out diagram of the economics of American culture. This will show where there are roadblocks on the way from training to performance, and at what points talented people are either forced by circumstances or induced by climates of opinion to leave their chosen artistic field and engage in more mundane pursuits. It will also give case-histories of where leverage, applied with deftness, has made possible a connection between the person of talent and a public that desires to purchase the results of that talent and so take an increasing amount of creative endeavor out of the realm of subsidy and into the main stream of American life.

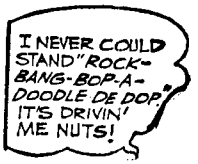
HELEN HILL MILLER

Our Cold War Cartoonists

SINCE Allen Dulles, John Foster Dulles and others have lately been emphasizing that the contest between America and Russia will continue for many years to come, it is important that our youngsters be prepared for the sort of world they will inherit. That is why we are pleased whenever we come upon a comic strip artist who manages to combine a gift for wholesome entertainment with a penetrating insight into the nature of the Red Menace. Last week, we reported on the highly personal Cold War strategy of Daddy Warbucks. This week we turn again to Zack Mosley, who draws the strip called "Smilin' Jack." Some time back we had occasion to congratulate Mr. Mosley on his study of the rocket failures at Cape Canaveral. Our rockets worked fine, he assured the nation's children; the so-called "failures" were actually the work of Russian spies.

Now Mr. Mosley has undertaken to explain brainwashing to the little ones. This time, the victims of the Russian experiment are a sterling young American named Brassnucks, and his Polynesian girl friend, Lava-Lava. They have fallen into the hands of a character known as the "Persuader," who is Russia's foremost expert on brainwashing.

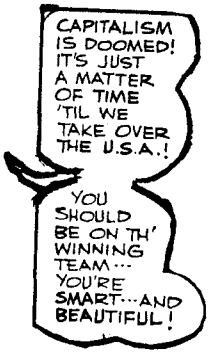
This scoundrel locks Brassnucks in a cell and, having elicited the information that his prisoner's favorite ditty is "Sentimental Journey," nastily proceeds to play instead a record called "Rock-Bang-Bop-A-Doodle-De-Dop." Now it is no small thing for an admirer of "Sentimental Journey" to be exposed to music of this sort. Hour after hour the record plays on until at last, Brassnucks cries out



But in spite of his excruciating discomfort, Brassnucks holds firm. He continues to defy the "Persuader."

The wily Russian, however, has another card up his sleeve. He begins to practice his subtle arts on Lava-Lava.

This insidious argument having made no perceptible impression on the girl, the "Persuader" resorts to ideology.


CAPITALISM IS DOOMED! IT'S JUST A MATTER OF TIME 'TIL WE TAKE OVER THE U.S.A.!
YOU SHOULD BE ON TH' WINNING TEAM··· YOU'RE SMART···AND BEAUTIFUL!

And then, to make an appealing offer even more attractive, he takes her in his arms and says:

Doubtless there are many girls who would find such blandishments irresistible, but the "Persuader" is dealing now with a Polynesian princess. Twisting free of his grasp, she replies with quiet dignity:

And with that, she deals him a brisk backhander across the chops, to emphasize the fact that *her* brains won't be washed.

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Iraq and Jordan—Union of Unequals

Baghdad

THE "Arab Union" of Iraq and Jordan—in reality no union but a loose federation—has attracted favorable notice from Washington and London for the good reason that both states are linked to the West. Iraq is an ally of Britain and a quasi-ally of the United States through membership of the Baghdad Pact; Jordan is heavily dependent on dollar aid. Hence the benevolence of Western regard. The union of the two states—in contradistinction to that of Egypt and Syria—has been described as "logical" and "natural," because their ruling houses are akin, their territories contiguous, and their economies in some mysterious way complementary. Yet it is silly, almost old-fashioned, to believe that the union is viable simply because we want it that way.

The cordiality existing between the ruling houses of Iraq and Jordan leaves little to be desired, though there are straws in the wind that suggest that closer association may bring its own problems. According to the draft constitution, for instance, the Head of State has the prerogative of declaring war on behalf of the federation. But already voices have been raised in Amman to question whether King Faisal should have the right to commit Jordan to war. What if Iraq became involved in war by virtue of the Baghdad Pact, of which Jordan is not a member?

The argument based on territorial contiguity is of much more doubtful validity. The stony desert between Mafraq in Jordan and Ramadi in Iraq is a more formidable obstacle than the seas between Latakia and Suez. Historically, the Levant has been a link, not a barrier. There were close bonds between Egypt and Syria in Phoenician, Greek, Roman, Saracenic and Turkish times; whereas Iraq and Jordan have been united in the past only through the fertile arc of Northern Syria, now lost to Nasser. In spite of the motor-car and the airplane, Jordan's communications still run north to Syria rather than east to Iraq.

Shorn of its frilly debating points, the essence of the argument is economic. If the federation can stand on its own feet, it can expect a future. What are the facts?

Iraq is a "have" nation; Jordan a "have-not." Iraq's annual revenues, derived from its own resources, amount to more than $360 million; the corresponding figure for Jordan, excluding foreign aid, is less than $30 million. More than two-thirds of Jordanian government expenditure is met by the US in various forms, such as grants, military supplies and Point IV outlays. Jordan, moreover, has a large surplus of man-power in the shape of half a million refugees. In these facts, many observers have seen a false symmetry giving the illusion of "complementary" economies. What is more "logical" or "natural" than to put Iraqi money into Jordan, and Jordanian man-power into the vast empty spaces of Iraq? It is always fun to invest someone else's money, and to move large communities, like soldiers, by sticking pins in a map. But the sad fact is that on both these subjects the attitude of the Iraqi is different from that of the Jordanian—and from that of his Western well-wisher.

On the subject of refugee resettlement, the Iraqi attitude has been made crystal clear by Dr. Fadhl Jamali, the Foreign Minister. There is no question, he has said, of Iraq accepting responsibility for the Palestinian refugees. That would be a breach of Arab faith to which Iraq could never be a party!

The prospect of Iraqi funds being invested in Jordan is also less promising than it appears at first sight. Of Iraq's total revenue, about $220 million are devoted to ordinary government expenditure. The whole of the balance—about $140 million—is earmarked for the great development program of which the Iraqis are justly proud and which they have no intention of curtailing for the benefit of Jordan. The Iraq Government has already undertaken to meet 80 percent of the federal budget for the first year. The budget, which covers defense, foreign affairs and a few minor items, is expected to total between $112 million and $125 million; Iraq's share will therefore fall between $90 and $100 million. Of this, Iraq would have had to find about $75 million anyway, for her own armed forces and foreign service. Her net contribution to the financing of Jordan is therefore between $15 and $25 million. This is regarded in Baghdad as a generous gesture, but from Amman it looks different. Jordan has just lost a Saudi subsidy of $14 million; so she gains little by the deal.

SUBSTANTIAL investment of Iraq Government funds in Jordan can therefore be ruled out. There remains the field of private investment. Banking circles in Baghdad are already exploring the possibility of setting up an Arab Development Bank to finance sound projects in both Iraq and Jordan. But the prospect of profitable investment in Jordan is limited. Phosphates, potash, light industry and minor agricultural schemes are worth examination; every little bit helps. But much of the needed development of Jordan lies in such fields as irrigation and communications, which are not attractive to the private investor in the Middle East. Here again, Iraqi caution comes to the fore.

The past record suggests that caution and inaction will prevail; and that the lack of balance in the Hashemite federation between the "haves" and the "have-nots" will create embarrassment in Iraq, disappointment in Jordan, and a flood of muddy waters for Nasser to fish in.

H. A. R. PHILBY

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The Superficial Aspect

Who's Getting Hurt?

ONE CRYING need of the hour is Coolidge's preacher, he who, according to pious Cal, preached about sin and was against it. He would be invaluable today, not so much because he was against sin, as because he preached about it.

Such, at least, is the opinion of a superficial observer who has waded through the Rockefeller Report, the Committee for Economic Development Report, the utterances of the President, the Secretary of Commerce, Senator Johnson, Chairman Butler, and the massed Presidents of the Federal Reserve Banks. As touching the recession they preach volubly, and some preach thunderously, but they don't preach about sin!

What this recession may mean to professors of economics and business tycoons I do not know, but to me it means simply that with prices constantly rising I find it hard to scramble enough money together to pay ordinary living costs, to say nothing of buying a new house, or a new automobile, or even a new refrigerator, or TV set. So when Eisenhower blandly announces that the cure for the recession is for the public—that's me—to buy, buy, buy, he sounds to me like the French queen who said that if the poor didn't have bread, let 'em eat cake. And I am not amused.

The element in this situation that sets ordinary people's teeth on edge is the fact that with business slacking off, and surpluses piling up, prices don't come down, but continue to rise. Unemployment and the cost of living go up together, and that means something wrong, badly wrong, with our economic theory. Yet the boys talk all around that point. They seem to be avoiding any explanation that a victim of the recession can understand.

When prices do not obey the law of supply and demand there has to be a reason, and the reason that occurs to the average man is that monopolists are holding them up artificially. But since the days of Adam Smith it has been agreed that for monopolists to hold up prices artificially is an offense against economic morals, so in theory we have made it also an offense against statute law. Open and aboveboard monopoly is criminal; and most of us hold that monopoly attained by edging around the law, so that the police cannot raid it, remains sinful.

Yet in all the spate of talk flooding from Washington there is next to no talk about this point. Our political sermonizers talk incessantly about theology, but the only sin they mention is the sin of heresy. Not to go out and buy is to despise the ritual of the Church of the Holy Dividends, and against that offense High Priest Ike thunders tremendously; but he says nothing about checking the blind and senseless greed that makes it impossible for me to buy.

All the gabble that has come out of Washington has not dissipated the common man's conviction that what has happened to us is that big business has simply priced itself out of the market. It is on record that for the past five years profits have been colossal, which affords good reason to believe that they have been more than the traffic could bear. It is of record also that the most startling profits have gone to the most gigantic business combines, so it is evident that it is big business, not small, that has led the crazy dance over the edge.

But the inescapable inference is that big business is managed in large part by idiots—and that is blasphemy. To assume that the automobile industry is now in trouble because the associates of Charles E. Wilson managed General Motors as idiotically as we know that Wilson managed national defense is an idea that Washington simply cannot tolerate, because it would knock down all the idols. It would imply that Ike was silly when he loaded his Cabinet with millionaires, and even sillier when he surrounded himself with tycoons even on the golf course.

IT WOULD ALSO imply that the Democratic Party showed no better sense when it intrusted leadership to the Texas Triplets—Johnson, Rayburn and Anderson—with their dependence upon the good-will of the oil billionaires. It simply cannot be. If this Administration cannot delegate the running of the country to wealth, it cannot delegate it at all, but must buckle down to work and do the job itself; and if it did that, what time would be left for Augusta, and Burning Tree Club, and detours to beauty parlors on the other side of the continent?

So it is no accident that the political preachers stick to theology, and let sin severely alone. After all, it is a time-tested method; and if it led once to a scaffold in Whitehall, once to a guillotine in the Place de la Revolution, and once to a cellar in Ekaterinburg, to say nothing of leading to the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, 1932, much oftener it has succeeded in quelling the unruly mob. It is tough on you and me to be found guilty of creating this recession, but we seem to be in for it; unless, indeed, some successor of Coolidge's preacher comes to our aid.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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An Interview with Isidor I. Rabi

"Do Rational People Make War?"

by HENRY BRANDON

PROFESSOR ISIDOR I. RABI is a prototype of the scientist-statesman who now joins the political leader and diplomat in shaping the most momentous of our national policies. For all his great influence in the past decade of our nuclear development he is a reticent scholar whose voice is rarely heard in public discussion. Chairman (1953-56) of the Atomic Energy Commission's General Advisory Committee, member and past chairman (1956-57) of the President's Science Advisory Committee, Professor Rabi is now in Europe as US member of the NATO Science Committee and as US co-planner of the UN September conference on the peacetime uses of atomic energy.

HENRY BRANDON of *The Sunday Times* of London tape-recorded this interview in Professor Rabi's Columbia University office. He found the Nobel Prize-winner "gentle yet outspoken, concerned yet also thrilled by Russia's scientific advances, a brilliant scientist and a passionate humanist." This is the first of a series of interviews done originally for *The Sunday Times* by its Washington correspondent. Mr. Brandon's interviews with LEONARD BERNSTEIN, BEN SHAHN, JAMES THURBER, MARGARET MEAD and others will appear exclusively in this country in coming issues of *The New Republic.*

BRANDON: Russia's launching of two satellites was a great shock to the Western world. Do you think American scientists or the government were to blame for Russia's being ahead of the United States in this field?

RABI: Of course there's not so terribly much science in Sputnik. It's chiefly a matter of engineering. We need to make headway in exploring new fuels, and in improving electronic guidance systems and engine designs. All this is not basic science. It does not mean that the Russians are ahead of us in basic science, but they are probably well ahead in rocketry. Our progress does not depend on scientific decisions, but on whether we will employ more money and more people. It is a decision for the government. With more money and greater effort we could go ahead much faster. Of course it would be done at the sacrifice of something else—teaching and research in other fields—but we can do it.

BRANDON: I have been told that the United States has many blueprints for space projects but that the hitch is a shortage of space engineers.

RABI: I don't think this has been proved yet, but we are in the habit of indulging ourselves by going off in many different directions at once. I rather think that if we focused our efforts we would find that we have plenty of personnel.

BRANDON: Are there space faculties at any United States universities, and have the Russians any?

RABI: I don't know of any here, but the Russians have all sorts of things. I met some Russians, for instance, who were Professors of Television. Russian scientists are generally more broadly trained than either Americans or British.

BRANDON: Now that Mr. Eisenhower has appointed his special science advisor, Dr. Killian, will the committee of which you have been chairman wind up its business?

RABI: No, that is a continuing committee. We set our own tasks mostly, and we advise the government in regard to various scientific questions and aspects of their public discussion. But we usually leave detailed studies to the government, for the President himself has tremendous resources at his command. Dr. Killian will be to the President very much what Cherwell was to Sir Winston Churchill, a personal adviser. He is not a scientist, properly speaking. He is a graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, more trained in the administrative side of engineering; but he is the confidant of the President and he knows a good deal about science and the scientific community in the United States.

BRANDON: Much will have to be done to strengthen this scientific community if the West wants to win the science race with Russia.

RABI: Yes, fundamentally, the general public must first of all learn to appreciate the importance of science as an ele-

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ment of culture. If that happened it would result in a revision of the curriculum of secondary schools, and public and grammar schools in your country. More time must be spent on mathematics and science. When science is considered as valuable as language has been in the general part of our education, our troubles will be over. We must also teach science not as the bare body of fact, but more as human endeavor in its historic context—in the context of the effects of scientific thought on every kind of thought. We must teach it as an intellectual pursuit rather than as a body of tricks.

In Russia science is considered essential to a general education. As far as I can see the Russians are getting a 20th Century education, whereas in the United States and England young people are getting a mid-19th Century education.

BRANDON: In Russia scientists come from part of the *élite* that includes industrial managers, generals and prima ballerinas.

RABI: Yes, the Russians have orientated their revolution toward science, even though it is sometimes pseudo-science. Nevertheless, that's an important part of the image which has been a stimulus to young people. In the West the scientist has been a latecomer and has not had the same social acceptance. That acceptance is gradually increasing, but as yet, if a man has no feeling for art he is considered narrow-minded, but if he has no feeling for science he is considered quite normal. This is a fundamental weakness of our whole civilization. Right now it's the thing which may bring its destruction.

BRANDON: I have often heard scientists blame the traditional anti-intellectualism of this country for their lack of recognition.

RABI: Yes, we are very rich, and rich people become intellectually lazy. However, today professors in the United States have a very high standing. They are extremely important in their communities and in the government, much more powerful and significant than in any other country. But the general public myth remains, and it is the public myth about the social handicap of being a scientist which still decides what young people go in for.

BRANDON: Is this public myth still influenced by memories of McCarthyism and the fate of Professor Oppenheimer?

RABI: It is still too early to judge the long-range effects of McCarthyism, but the exclusion of Professor Oppenheimer, a man who accomplished so much for his country, is indication of the failure of the country and the authorities to value correctly such contributions, both intellectual and substantial, to the welfare of the United States. Only when he is returned to more active government service will it indicate a change of heart has occurred. It will be a source of encouragement to the whole scientific community. Nevertheless, there has been a tremendous upsurge in American interest in science. We were not beaten by the Russian developments for lack of interest. I think the chief criticism must be not that we are not contributing vast amounts but that we haven't contributed as much as we could and should.

BRANDON: Is the West handicapped by its free enterprise system? Our scientists are much more under pressure to show results and success, something that is particularly hard on the pure scientist.

RABI: I think this is more true in England and on the Continent, but in the United States there has been a tremendous support from the government, from private industry and from foundations. Of course that does not mean we could not use more funds, or that we should not make science as a profession financially more attractive. Another great mistake is that our universities have expanded at the expense of professors. Their funds, instead of going into the salaries of professors, have gone into building expansions to increase the number of students.

BRANDON: What kind of advantages have the Russians gained from launching their two Sputniks?

RABI: I would say, at least from my point of view as a scientist, that science is a very worthwhile activity in itself, for the delight and knowledge it gives you in exploring the world in which you live, the universal matter, the universal laws of nature and so on. So the advantage they have is that they are acting like human beings and are learning about the universe. And I am sure that most Russian scientists take it in that way. If there are certain side advantages, insofar as military applications are concerned, and, of course, general prestige, that's true of many other endeavors. But the real thing is that there is space and that we must learn about it.

BRANDON: Will it enable the Russians to get to the moon ahead of us?

RABI: Certainly. Just as great attempts were made to reach the South and North Poles when I was a boy, so we will have realistic attempts to reach the moon.

BRANDON: Do you have a yearning to get to the moon?

RABI: None whatsoever. But there are people I know who would volunteer to go to the moon even if it were the last thing they did.

BRANDON: How soon are we likely to reach the moon?

RABI: I am not expert in this, but I think we could do it in one year if we wanted. I mean a rocket, not a person.

BRANDON: What would be the advantage of doing that? The accomplishment of spectacular achievement?

RABI: Yes, it makes you feel good.

BRANDON: It makes scientists feel good?

RABI: The whole world. I think the whole world was inspired by the Russian achievement. It was a very worthwhile thing.

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BRANDON: I could have done without it. It's not the kind of thrill I get excited about.

RABI: Well, we could have done without our civilization. Our ancestors, ten thousand years ago, did without many things, and they lived and died. You could also do without the poetry of T. S. Eliot.

BRANDON: I think that rather than being thrilled, this country is in a mood to redouble its efforts to match Russia. Maybe this is the time to call for sacrifices.

RABI: I agree. Better now than later. But I also think that it will require more than sacrifices. It will require a certain amount of intelligence.

BRANDON: What do you mean?

RABI: I mean a policy which is more suitable to the times than the policy all countries have been pursuing for the past 10 years. It has become a truism to say we are headed for destruction. But these wise statesmen both in the East and the West keep on heading for it.

BRANDON: You don't believe in the deterrent power of these weapons?

RABI: Oh, I think they certainly are very deterrent to rational people; but do rational people make war? The worst of it is that as the deterrent grows, the result of a single mistake becomes more and more terrible. The deterrent is nothing but a psychological thing, and I don't know whether anybody knows enough about human psychology really to place a lot of faith in it. A policy of mutual deterrents will ultimately lead to universal disaster—but that's my view.

BRANDON: Has your Committee suggested to Mr. Eisenhower the need for much closer collaboration between American and British scientists, and do you think the atomic energy law should be repealed?

RABI: Certainly, and the President is very sympathetic to close collaboration. It would strengthen our whole effort. As regards the atomic energy law, I think it need only be changed. We still need a protective law, just as we have protective laws about drugs. Some of the information protected by it involves the fate of the whole country.

BRANDON: The number of atom bombs, for instance?

RABI: That's the last thing I would want to keep secret. I think if I had the deterrent I would like people to know its full extent. But that's not the kind of information I am talking about. I mean weapons and devices and one's new discoveries in that field. But there is a great area where our exchange of information needs improvement. We could beat the Russians by having a much closer relationship.

BRANDON: And how long do you think it will take us to catch up, to safeguard our long-range future?

RABI: Oh, a generation. You know how long it takes to change a cultural pattern. The growing general awareness of this need will help us, but nevertheless we will have to work hard to succeed in a generation.

A Kind of Indefatigability

IT IS NOW a widely held view that . . . the United States has not developed an understanding of its purposes, its interests, its alternatives and plans for the future in any way adequate to the gravity of the problems that the country faces. There is a widespread impression that we live from astonishment to surprise, and from surprise to astonishment, never adequately forewarned or forearmed, and more often than not choosing between evils, when forethought and foreaction might have provided happier alternatives. Why should this state of affairs exist in a country rich with wealth and leisure, dedicated to education, with a larger part of its citizenry involved in education than in any other land at any other time . . . ?

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THE PROBLEMS OF OUR COUNTRY and our age have hardly in historical times arisen in anything like their present form; certainly they have never been resolved. If our adversary appears to have solved them better than we, it may be healthy for us to note that; it can hardly be healthy for us to adopt his means. He knows what he wants, because he has a simple theory of the meaning of human life and of his place in it. With the strength of that confidence, he has a government prepared to take, at vast human cost, all necessary steps to reach his ends. That there is only a small, fragmentary, largely obsolete taint of truth to his theory, that it excludes the greater part of truth, and the deeper, should give us some confidence that he will not succeed. That his failure may be marked by a vast if not universal human involvement, and an unparalleled devastation and horror, should temper our pleasure in this prospect and return us to the solution of our problems on our own terms, in our own way, in our own good time.

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WHAT WE HERE need is a vastly greater intellectual vigor and discipline; a more habitual and widespread open-mindedness; and a kind of indefatigability, which is *not inconsistent with fatigue but is inconsistent with surrender*. It is not that our land is poor in curiosity, in true learning, in the habit of smelling out one's own self-delusion, in the dedication and search for order and law among novelty, variety and contingency. There is respect for learning and for expertness, and a proper recognition of the role of ignorance, and of our limits, both as men and as man; but of none of these is there enough. . . .

J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

Foreign Affairs—January, 1958

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BOOKS & COMMENT

Judicial Restraint & the Bill of Rights

by Alexander M. Bickel

JUDGE LEARNED HAND'S 1958 Holmes Lectures at the Harvard Law School are an affirmation of a radical doctrine of judicial restraint. In one form or another, some such doctrine has throughout most of American constitutional history been inseparable, in the statement if not always in the genuine observance, from the power of judicial review asserted and exercised by our courts. Yet there has never been a time when the courts have consistently adhered to quite so uncompromising a position as is represented by these lectures. And the position is certainly—and on the whole happily—not fashionable these days.

The Bill of Rights—The Oliver Wendell Holmes Lectures, 1958, by Learned Hand (Harvard; $2.50).

Judge Hand, at 86, is nearing his fiftieth year of judicial service. He writes in a style of 18th Century lucidity and economy, but not without passion, not without the power to move. And as one of the great figures in American law, he has a commanding claim on our attention.

This much, Judge Hand said in a celebrated speech delivered in 1942,

> . . . this much I think I do know—that a society so riven that the spirit of moderation is gone, no court *can* save; that a society where that spirit flourishes, no court *need* save; that in a society which evades its responsibility by thrusting upon the courts the nurture of that spirit, that spirit in the end will perish.

This "gloomy and apocalyptic view," as Dean Rostow has called it, which is rather more confirmed than shaken by the history of our own and of other democratic nations, is one of the chief supports of any doctrine of judicial restraint. But, though it is the broadest-gauged and perhaps ultimately the most persuasive, it is not such a doctrine's only support. In the first of these lectures, Judge Hand develops another argument.

It is a fact that the power of judicial review is nowhere mentioned in the Constitution. And the exegetical process of construction by which the power was assumed for the courts in the famous judgment of Chief Justice Marshall in *Marbury* v. *Madison* is, as it happens, vulnerable; indeed, as Judge Hand concludes, it "will not bear scrutiny." But, Judge Hand tells us in the same breath, "there were other reasons, not only proper but essential, for inferring such a power in the Constitution."

Diffusion of authority is the genius of the American form of government. Our two systems of sovereignty—States and Nation—are designed to complement but also to limit each other. And so are the co-equal departments of the Federal Government itself. In such a government, someone must exercise the function of declaring the limits of authority and keeping each department within its own. The courts were and remain the institution best suited to this task, and the alternatives to entrusting the task to them were and remain prohibitive.

HOWEVER, if such a reason constitutes the sole justification for lodging in the courts the power of judicial review, certain strictures on that power necessarily follow. The courts must, before each exercise of the power, ask themselves "how importunately the occasion demands" the exercise, and then often refrain because the demand is not importunate enough and because a power engrafted on the basic charter only out of recognition of a necessity "to prevent the failure of the undertaking" is by hypothesis to be used reluctantly and sparingly. What is more important, the courts must also be astute to confine the function strictly "to the need that evoked it; that is, it was and always has been necessary to distinguish between the frontiers of another department's authority and the propriety of its choices within those frontiers." The latter is none of the court's business.

Having drawn these conclusions, Judge Hand proceeds in the remaining two lectures to examine the function of the courts in applying the Bill of Rights; that is, the first eight amendments to the Constitution and the due process and equal protection clauses of the fourteenth. These provisions, Judge Hand concedes, establish limitations upon the legislative and executive branches of the government and indeed upon the judicial branch itself. Here then, one would suppose, are such frontiers as Judge Hand has mentioned, which it is for the courts to police. But it is exceedingly hard to assign any meaning to these clauses definite enough to make of them "guides on concrete occasions."

IT IS TRUE, as Judge Hand, of course, recognizes, that scarcely any provision of the Constitution is clear enough to apply itself, so that the courts are left to perform under it only something like a ministerial act. But the provisions of the Bill of Rights are so much less clear than anything else that the difference, though technically one of degree, is of the significance of a difference in kind. These provisions prescribe "no more than that temper of detachment, impartiality, and an absence of self-directed bias that is the whole content of justice." Therefore, if a court is to apply the Bill of Rights as a limitation upon the legislative and executive authority in, let us say, a free speech case, it must test the justice of the arrangement which the legislature or the executive has decreed. For every measure of social control involves an adjustment, a balancing of values, a prophecy that the balance struck will be beneficial. But to apply this test is, for Judge Hand, necessarily to duplicate the process of the legislature and the executive themselves; it is to pass on the propriety of choices, rather than simply to draw boundaries and define frontiers.

Thus arises Judge Hand's dilemma. The courts can only enforce the Bill of Rights as a limitation on the power of

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government by engaging in the independent formulation of policy. Yet there is no warrant in the Constitution for their doing so. Judicial review was evoked at all only by a need that calls for the exercise of a much narrower function. Moreover, the courts are unfitted to make social policy, and their attempt to do so must be either futile (in the riven society) or redundant (when men are content in moderation) or dangerous (when the product lacks wisdom).

JAMES BRADLEY THAYER, the first modern American constitutional scholar, who also believed that "under no system can the power of courts go far to save a people from ruin" and that restraint was the first principle of judicial conduct in constitutional cases, solved this dilemma with a rule of reason. While, he argued, the courts may not repeat the legislative process of striking a balance of values (economic regulation against rights of property; order or security against personal freedom; and the like), they may examine into the balance that was struck just far enough to see that it was not arbitrary, not beyond the confines of reasonableness. The courts, he wrote, "can only disregard the Act [as unconstitutional] when those who have the right to make laws have not merely made a mistake, but have made a very clear one—so clear that it is not open to rational question."

But this, apparently, does not satisfy Judge Hand. He is perfectly aware that the Supreme Court has for many decades now, and at times quite energetically, intervened under the Bill of Rights to protect both property and the individual against legislative mistakes, and not always just against "very clear" mistakes either. "I cannot frame any definition," Judge Hand concludes,

> . . . that will explain when the court will assume the role of a third legislative chamber and when it will limit its authority to keeping Congress and the states within their accredited authority. Nevertheless, I am quite clear that it has not abdicated its former function, as to which I hope that it may be regarded as permissible for me to say that I have never been able to understand on what basis it does or can rest except as a *coup de main*.

The *coup de main*, as Judge Hand readily admits, has its points. There is much that is attractive in the prospect that "we might enjoy at least the protection of judges against our own frailities." Surely there are perils aplenty in leaving "our collective fate to the wayward vagaries of popular assemblies." But:

> For myself it would be most irksome to be ruled by a bevy of Platonic Guardians, even if I knew how to choose them, which I assuredly do not. If they were in charge, I should miss the stimulus of living in a society where I have, at least theoretically, some part in the direction of public affairs. Of course, I know how illusory would be the belief that my vote determined anything; but nevertheless when I go to the polls I have a satisfaction in the sense that we are all engaged in a common venture. If you retort that a sheep in the flock may feel something like it; I reply, following Saint Francis, "My brother, the Sheep."

If I have been at all successful in understanding and rendering Judge Hand's thought, it is unnecessary to point out at any great length that judicial restraint *à la* L. Hand, J., is very strong medicine indeed. It is the therapy of total abstinence. Most students of the Court would not wish to administer it, and plainly the patient himself rejects it. But it will not do to dismiss Judge Hand's position simply on the ground that just now one dislikes its consequences. Too often resistance to the radicalism of Judge Hand's doctrine of restraint takes the form of magnificent, self-winding certitudes about the meaning of the Bill of Rights, which unequivocally guarantees, it is said, such things as absolute freedom of speech, universal suffrage, free political effort, rigid separation of military and civilian jurisdiction, privacy, freedom of movement, freedom of conscience.

Well, if these things are clear, and as clear in the application as they are resonant in the statement, the embarrassments and tribulations felt by Judge Hand and others about having questions of policy, questions demanding for their solution judgment and prophecy based on a million imponderables and requiring answers that must be broadly accepted and broadly felt to be just—embarrassments about having this sort of question resolved by platonic guardians disappear. The difficulties have been assured away by drawing a veil of words over the process of judgment. The words are of ancient and honorable lineage; truly read, they propound issues. But an

Mr. and Mrs.

THEY'D charge a bit less, of course, in the off season.
The Mrs. would do for the maid, and they'd close up the snack bar,
And if they filled three of the rooms in a night they'd break even,
Which, as the Mr. said, was all right, wasn't it? since,
When the rush season came, they'd make a good thousand
A week (before taxes)
Easy,
Which, as they both said, would make them financial
In no time, at which time
They'd sell the damn place, buy a yacht and go someplace decent.

So they bought it.
But since a new cut-off took all the arterial traffic,
Somehow the off season stayed through the on, and nobody
Lived in the break-even rooms but a brother
Of Mr.'s, and surly letters
From stores and utility people
Arrived by each sad, sad post, and Mr. and Mrs.
Sat by the desk in their lobby thinking
Deep,
until one day the Mrs.
Said to the Mr., Don't you
Think, Mr., we'd be more financial and all
If we bought a nice orange-juice stand on US 1?

REED WHITTEMORE

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atavistic regression to a mode of thinking that every so often grips the law and has always to be unlearned again (as in the past generation it generally has been) converts the words into answers. Courts have merely to find them, declare them, sing their praises. This is to solve the problem which Judge Hand faithfully faces — and painfully, with the lucidity of pain—by gingerly walking around it with eye firmly averted.

The last page of Judge Hand's book contains a moving apostrophe to "men all but one of whom are now dead" who years ago taught Judge Hand in the very building in which the Holmes lectures were delivered. Then comes this admonition:

> From them I learned that it is as craftsmen that we get our satisfactions and our pay. In the universe of truth they lived by the sword; they asked no quarter of absolutes and they gave none. Go ye and do likewise.

However, asking quarter of delusive absolutes is not the sole alternative to acquiescing in the rigors of Judge Hand's conclusions. There are those who hold a view of the power of judicial review and the duty of judicial restraint which is intellectually respectable and at the same time is capable of providing some protection against the "vagaries of popular assemblies." It also has the advantage of accommodating more of what our courts have in fact done than Judge Hand is able to accept. And after all, unlike the lady who annoyed Carlyle, any theory about the physical world or about an established, going social organism stands to lose by accepting as much of the universe as possible.

THE FIRST point to be made in the attempt to construct such an alternative theory is this: The origins of the power of judicial review in the intent of the framers of the Constitution are no doubt uncertain; but it is not universally recognized as true that the framers had in mind only the narrow need of preventing "the failure of the undertaking" by keeping the several departments of the government from stepping all over each other. Various opinions were held by the framers. None can be said to have been adopted to the exclusion of the others. Normally, since it is a *constitution* we are expounding, this is a condition that leaves posterity relatively free to meet its needs as they arise.

If this is so, we may approach the heart of the matter—the undoubted fact that the Bill of Rights is a set of uncommonly broad and vague admonitions to do right—in a different, less constrained frame of mind than does Judge Hand. The question is no longer, as it is for Judge Hand, whether the courts can conceivably enforce the Bill of Rights against Congress and the Executive without trespassing on the historically forbidden function of reviewing policy choices. The question rather is whether a function can be assigned to the courts which might, as it must, involve the weighing of choices, yet which differs from the legislative and executive functions; which is peculiarly suited to the capabilities of the courts; which will not likely be performed elsewhere if the courts do not assume it; which can be so exercised as to be acceptable in a society that generally shares Judge Hand's satisfaction in the sense of common venture; and whose discharge by the courts will not lower the quality of the other departments' performance by denuding the latter of the dignity and burden of their own responsibility.

This is, to be sure, a tall order. But its height has not necessarily caused all students of the Court, or, what is more important, Justices of undoubted preeminence to despair.

The point of departure is the fact that there are things that popular assemblies will not, probably cannot, do. Thus when the pressure for immediate results is strong enough and emotions ride high enough, such assemblies will not ordinarily take the long view. They will often prefer to act on expediency rather than principle. For this reason, most democratic societies have felt the need to impose a check such as, in very mild form, is represented by the Senate and the President, who have more extended terms of office than the House. Originally perhaps this check was deemed adequate, as neither the Senate nor the President were intended to be directly elected, and as the pressure of public opinion could scarcely be brought to bear with the speed and power made possible by modern means of communication. Today, if there is to be a check, only the courts possess the insulation to provide it. But a check based on what standards of judgment, on first principles drawn from where? And can it be effective if the political departments and the people stand their ground?

THE ANSWER, working from the second question to the first, is that the courts seldom if ever apply their check—the wisdom of the intricate rules touching their jurisdiction prevents it—while passion is at its height. Their judgment comes later, when at least some degree of hindsight has lengthened everyone's view. Of this, the recent actions of the Supreme Court in curbing some of the excesses of the McCarthy era—in 1956, not 1952—are a striking instance.

Moreover, the courts don't really pass on the same problem as did the legislature and the executive. Statutes tend to deal with an abstracted or dimly foreseen problem. The courts are concerned with the flesh and blood of an actual case. This often goes to modify, perhaps to moderate, everyone's view. It is, for example, one thing to hate and fear Communists as an abstraction, and another to detest some actual wretched

" . . . Until some unmistakable portent comes along, such as Nixon's resigning his office and going to Africa as a missionary, common sense requires the hypothesis that he has not changed."

Beware the Tender Trap

Margaret Halsey's controversial
New Republic article

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nonentity enough to want him to go to jail.

In sum, their insulation and the benign influence of time give courts the opportunity to appeal to men's better natures, to call forth their aspirations, which but yesterday were forgotten, but were not necessarily abandoned in the moment's hue and cry.

A DECISION by the Supreme Court properly attuned to our people's traditions and aspirations and resting on deeply felt first principles is as true an expression of the popular will as the most widely acclaimed Act of Congress that it may strike down. And there *are* such first principles, matters that are, in Cardozo's phrase, "of the very essence of a scheme of ordered liberty," which the trained faculty of judgment can distinguish from more personal or group preferences. Most men, indeed, habitually see and take such a distinction in making many a personal decision. Moreover, the judgment of the Court is informed by the documented experience of upwards of 150 years, which is more than is vouchsafed to most men in ordering their private affairs.

To speak of first principles in this sense is not, I believe, to fall into the pit of absolutes, nor is it to disguise the fact that the Bill of Rights is an invitation to the exercise of judgment rather than an enumeration of rules. Judges must draw first principles, as Mr. Justice Frankfurter has said, not from a text but from "history, reason, the past course of decisions, and stout confidence in the strength of the democratic faith which we profess;" that is, from the morality of our tradition as they find it in their deepest selves. And then comes judgment, which must take account of current needs, of new knowledge about ourselves and the world around us, and often of the capacity of the other departments to gather and assess such new knowledge better than can the Court. When the balance is struck, it must not be, as Justice Frankfurter very recently remarked in *Sweezy* v. *New Hampshire*, "an exercise of whim or will . . . As far as it lies within human limitations, it must be an impersonal judgment. It must rest on fundamental presuppositions . . . to which widespread acceptance may fairly be attributed," and which, one might add, the Court must not simply invoke, as we are all prone to do in the very act of violating them, but must explain, teach and put to work on the concrete facts before it.

It does not deny the impersonality or disinterestedness of this process of judicial judgment nor the existence of "fundamental presuppositions" to admit that men on and off the bench may disagree about constitutional decisions. First, disagreement often turns on the degree of restraint deemed to be required by this process. Second, there are no human absolutes, valid for all time and all men in all circumstances; there are on all levels of judgment and on this level as well only solutions that a majority thinks a majority will ultimately accept as good. And third, even men agreed on principle can differ in the acuity with which they apply it to the always complex facts of a given case. Judicial law is not made in single cases, but in clusters of them.

I am afraid that such a conception of the function of judicial review as I have been trying to sketch can hope to avoid a charge of vacuousness only if it is illustrated in its actual operation. But illustrations are plentiful in the books, for despite departures from it, this conception is the one that has informed the enduring body of the Supreme Court's work. As is immediately apparent, it requires, for effectiveness, a high degree of judicial restraint, which is in large part formalized in the Court's jurisdictional doctrines. "The most important thing we do," Justice Brandeis used to say, "is not doing."

PUT in its simplest terms, this is true because no one who sees "fundamental presuppositions" at stake in every second or third case can hope to be heard and to give pause when at last he comes to insist on a truly fundamental one. We are in the presence here of the well-known principle of the decreasing effectiveness of the cry of wolf. Moreover, there are certain areas (typically, these days, when the war and foreign relations powers come into play) in which the relevant facts are peculiarly inaccessible to the courts and in which they must consequently be particularly guarded in the exercise of their power, initially at any rate. More generally, a concommitant of the Court's insulation is, after all, a certain isolation. This gives rise to the danger, especially in times of crisis and change, that judges will find themselves, in Justice Matthews' phrase, denying "every quality of the law but its age"—with the dire results achieved by the Court of the twenties and thirties.

The Court that hesitates, as it must, in grappling with constitutional issues and applying its veto, need not remain idle. It has many time-honored means at its disposal for so construing statutes as to draw to the attention of the other Departments and of the people issues of principle which threaten to be engulfed in the rush to achieve passionately desired immediate objectives. A goodly number of the cases that are currently agitating public opinion were not constitutional decisions at all. The fact that Congress as a whole (the curiously constituted Senate Judiciary Committee hardly represents the country) has not overruled them, though it could, testifies to the persuasive power the Court can exercise even while it wisely refrains from wielding its ultimate and decisive power.

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That Old-Time Religion

by Robert E. Fitch

THE TUNE is terrible; the words are worse: nor have they the merit even of going together well. The second verse ends with a line which, in the singing, requires one to ride long an article and a conjunction—"a-a robe a-and crown." And the shout of triumph which opens the chorus, "Yes, we'll gather at the river," is followed, in the meter of the music, by "the beautiful, the beautifu-ul river."

They Gathered at the River, by Bernard A. Weisberger (Little, Brown; $5).

Yet in taking the theme of this song to provide the title for a study of revivalism in the United States, *They Gathered At The River,* Bernard A. Weisberger shows a proper feeling for the drama and for the poetry of his tale. He is also shrewd in the selection of texts from Scripture as symbols for his chapter headings: "Woe unto Thee, Chorazin," "Walking and Leaping and Praising God," "Out of His Mouth Goes a Sharp Sword." But this is not a book of poetry. It is history, sober and serious history, with ample bibliographical notes and comments, even though the subject-matter will not strike the reader as being always serious, or, for that matter, ever quite sober. Moreover, it is a kind of old-fashioned history in that it does not forget that history should be the story of human beings. Not that the author ignores the social forces and institutions that are the background of the story—the turmoil of the frontier, the rural society, the urban middle classes, the wars, the depressions. But for all that his interest is very much in people and in how they behave as significant persons.

Since B. A. Weisberger belongs to a generation one later than that of H. L. Mencken, he feels no need to belabor the booboisie and the Bible-belt, and is willing to let the element of humor in the tale speak for itself. Indeed, there is a great deal here to tickle the funny-bone, and at times to provoke the irreverent imagination to a consideration of possibilities not explicit in the text. At the Muddy River revival, a good co-educational affair, we learn that "some of the spiritually wounded fled to the woods, and their groans could be heard all through the surrounding groves, as the groans of dying men." Then there is that enterprising evangelist who, marooned on level ground without a platform in a ten-ring shindig, contrived to attract attention to himself and to gather a crowd of prospects by tying an umbrella to a pole and holding it high over his head while he gave his harangue. And there is Nancy Jeferis who, in a moment of ecstasy, was ravished to a place where she could hear heavenly music and also "the Screeks and Crys of Damned Souls."

On the frontier the revival was like a shot of adrenalin: it gave people the jerks, or provoked them to falling down, or set them to hysterical laughing or singing, or to barking fiercely as they undertook to "tree the Devil." Later on, in the big cities, it took on a soothing quality. As one popular preacher in Brooklyn told his flock:

> Religion is sweetness, and perfume. . . . And it is good for rheumatism, and for neuralgia, and for low spirits, and for consumption; it is *the catholicon for all disorders.*

THERE ARE some fascinating personalities in the record. Nor are they all uncouth frontiersmen or illiterate rabble-rousers. There are presidents of Yale, of Princeton, and of Oberlin. The only generalization that will hold of them is that they are all rugged individualists, bent chiefly on saving individuals, not society, and as unapologetic of their quirks of character as of their convictions about religion. Lyman Beecher had a furious energy which, unexhausted on the platform, worked itself out by sawing cords of wood for himself and for his neighbors, and, when the wood gave out, had a pile of sand dumped in the cellar, and shoveled it from one corner to another, Timothy Dwight, while attacking the Devil, could also rail against Republicans (Democrats today) and accuse them of wishing to make "our sons become the disciples of Voltaire . . . our daughters the concubines of the Illuminati." Dwight L. Moody, an ex shoe-salesman, president of the Chicago YMCA, always had good backing from the tycoons of the time, for, as they admitted, "he is one of us." Billy Sunday set religion to ragtime, and turned the revival into religious vaudeville. But it was Charles Gladstone Finney, of the piercing eye, who could really reach the insides of a sinner. When a woman with a bonnet of fancy waving plumes took a front seat at his service, he hissed at her: "Did you come here . . . to make people worship *you*?"

ALL THIS BUSINESS had its impact on the doctrine and denominational structure of Protestantism. The sects most deeply involved were the Methodists and Baptists, and also the Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The first group, being Arminians, and emotionalists, and free-willers (for the most part), found the revival congenial to their dispositions and almost made a permanent affair of it. But the two Calvinist sects were constrained by a strong sense of decorum both in conduct and in doctrine. Presbyterians, for instance, unlike Methodists, could not become reconciled to the "falling down" of converts, especially when the subject was a woman. And early Congregationists as well as Presbyterians found that the revival, with its emphasis on repentance and decision, threatened the orthodoxies of predestination and election.

Standing quite aloof from all these goings-on were the Unitarians, the Episcopalians, the Quakers, the Dutch Reformed, the Lutherans, and the Roman Catholics. Some of these believed that saving grace was already channeled through approved institutional means. And still others—doubtless Unitarians and Episcopalians—may have felt that they had no need of being saved anyway.

Part of the interest of Weisberger's account is the way he makes plain the evolution in style and in technique in over a century of revival activity. At the early camp meetings the purpose of the preacher was to convulse, to convict, and to convince. The awful intensity of the experience was heightened by the belief that the initiative for the change had to come from God and could not come from the sinner. Over

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the years, however, the drama was diminished, hell-fire was hushed, the anxious bench gave way to the inquiry room, the shock of repentance was replaced by a "decision," and the token of the transformed soul could be simply to sign a card, or to put up a hand for Jesus ("He put up two for you!"). A religion that used to batter down the pride of the sinner now merely buttered up his soul.

With Dwight L. Moody the revival lost some of its spontaniety and became a product of skills in advance preparation, money-raising, public relations with the churches, and the careful drilling of cooperating volunteers. Indeed, it is quite clear, from this story, that Moody was ahead of Madison Avenue by a good half century. It was even possible to estimate the cost per head of a convert — $7.43 apiece under Moody, but, if my arithmetic is right, only $2.034 apiece in New York City for Billy Sunday.

CONTEMPLATING this extraordinary spectacle as it is spread over more than a century of our history, one must ask finally what was its worth—not just in its impact on secular institutions, which was enormous—but what was its worth *religiously*. For the greatest evangelist in all Protestant history was in no sense a "revivalist." He did his work, like a magnificent maverick, in the midst, in the very teeth, of the Age of Reason. He was also a man of the highest intellectual culture and of amazing administrative skills. The difference, I think, is that John Wesley was truly a spiritual revolutionary, striking at the very roots of the culture of his day. But these others, for all their whoop and holler and hullabaloo, were merely shoring up the secular prejudices of their society, so that in time their Christian gospel became little more than a gloss upon the scriptures of Mammon.

In any case we are grateful to Mr. Weisberger for giving us an entertaining as well as a significant book. Scholars will appreciate it for its solid contribution to an important phase of American religious history. The lay reader, whether of a holy or of a profane disposition, will relish it for good narrative, for the picturesque episode, and for the diverse light it casts on the human comedy.

MOVIES

Hollywood's Ninety-Percenters

THOSE who stuff cornerstones may want to find a place for *Stage Struck*, the new RKO-Radio picture co-starring Henry Fonda and Susan Strasberg, for it is a good example of contemporary American film-making.

The screenplay — derived from the Zoe Akins play *Morning Glory* filmed twenty-five years ago by Katherine Hepburn—was written by Ruth and Augustus Goetz. The Goetzes established, with their Henry James adaptation *The Heiress*, that they were gifted craftsmen. Their dialogue for this film is pungent and swift, and most of the time their script re-creates faithfully the harassed, self-dramatizing, exciting, unsatisfactory life of the Broadway theatre.

Stage Struck (RKO).

The story concerns a girl who comes to New York from Vermont to be an actress, who meets a producer and a playwright while she is doing the offices and is, one might say, unintentionally seduced by the producer; the playwright seeks her out after the producer has cast her aside, she gets her chance in the new show by the producer-playwright team, but her success confirms for her that she must not marry either the playwright who loves her or the producer whom she loves. She is married, by the twin justices of talent and opportunity, to her vocation.

If for no other reason, this picture is valuable because it "introduces" a remarkably talented young performer whose career in the last few years has cheered those interested in the art of acting. This is Christopher Plummer, whose reputation has been growing from his Shakespearean roles at the Stratford Festival in Canada, through such performances as Warwick in the Broadway production of *The Lark* and such television work as the recent production of *The Lady's Not for Burning*. Plummer has already demonstrated that, far beyond most of his contemporaries, he has a grasp of large-scale acting, has a voice and sufficient technique to sustain the classic line, has the frame, the face, and the imagination to address himself, in the course of time, to the most demanding roles. With his performance as the playwright in this film, he shows that he can play prose as well as poetry, that his small-scale playing has flexibility, deftness, and simplicity. It is not a great performance because it is not remotely a great part, but it is pleasurable to watch the competence and freshness with which Plummer handles it. What he needs now is a lucky charm against those whom Cyril Connolly calls the "enemies of promise," the exploiters who throng the arts, most thickly in the theatre and film worlds.

Henry Fonda, who has always been a good actor, is becoming a better one. In the role of the producer, as in his current Broadway performance in *Two for the Seesaw*, he seems no longer particularly interested in being charming. Serious acting is his whole game now, and we could almost wish that he had aged faster.

Joan Greenwood plays the Broadway star with just enough caricature to make it lifelike. Her part is not only the best-written in the film, it is one of the most believable "star" parts I've ever seen in a play or film about actors. Herbert Marshall is quietly dependable as the old stager, the part that C. Aubrey Smith played with Hepburn. Not to be unkind, Marshall and Fonda remind us that actors' faces are terribly public (and frequently endearing) calendars.

The leading role is played by Susan Strasberg, a young lady of small talent and less technique, with an irritatingly limited voice, who is short, markedly bow-legged, and moves unattractively. The overwhelming effect that Miss Strasberg has had on some, including critics, is lost on this writer. I saw her Broadway performance in *The Diary of Anne Frank* which had a youthful touching tremulousness; but even then

Notes on Contributors

ROBERT E. FITCH is Dean of the Pacific School of Religion. REED WHITTEMORE, a member of the English faculty of Carleton College, has published a book of poems called *An American Takes a Walk*.

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it was clear (especially from the recorded readings of the diary used as transitions between scenes) that she had about a three-note range. Her vocal and physical faults are here magnified by microphone and camera. The scene at the end of the film where, as a new star, she strides across the stage away from Fonda who gazes after her longingly, is ludicrous in respect of her being the object of his affections or a splendid new theatrical princess. The earlier scene where she gets tight at a party, enacts (what else?) Juliet's balcony scene, and enthralls the carousing guests is simply embarrassing. It is one of those scenes, so frequently failures, where a hostile audience in a picture is driven to applause by the power of a performer; but why that audience should have been driven to anything except more drink by that droning, inept reading escapes me. The best one can say about Miss Strasberg is that she is being pushed too fast for her present competence and farther than her talent may ever justify.

Sidney Lumet has undeniably a certain brilliance as a director. In the theatre where a director must evoke a continuous, cumulative performance relatively unaided by technical trickery, he has yet to prove himself. But in films, where scenes can be cut and spliced, where trick angles and lighting and music can assist, even substitute for, acting, where clever editing can be used to keep jabbing an audience, Lumet knows how to score effects. He has, too, a good pictorial eye. This film was shot entirely in New York, and Lumet has used the city well (Central Park in the snow, Village espresso bar, the truck-loading shed of *The Times*).

But in the last 15 minutes of the picture, everything you hope won't happen happens. The star quits the show the day before the opening; the girl, who is not even the official understudy and has been secretly rehearsed by the playwright-director, goes on and makes a success. We are also asked to believe that a show with a big star opens "cold" on Broadway, that it was impossible to get out-of-town bookings for it, that a producer would entrust a starring role to a girl he has never seen or heard in the part. What is the *use* of photographing New York with dazzling skill, of getting every last syllable of realistic dialogue down pat, of recreating vividly the ambience of Broadway, if it's all going to end in marshmallow nonsense?

Who was responsible? The producer, Stuart Millar? The director or Fonda? One suspects the last two because this is exactly what happened in their other picture, *Twelve Angry Men*; everything was accurate and truthful except the conclusion toward which the whole story moved.

Thus *Stage Struck* joins the ranks of the ninety-percenters, the pictures that are nearly honest. How promisingly they begin, what an air of intelligence and confrontation of truth they generate, how much telling they sketch in as they go, and how they destroy themselves in their last sequences. *On the Waterfront, The Long, Hot Summer,* and now these two Lumet-Fonda pictures, to name a few.

There is a popular apology for the ninety-percenters based on the principle of weights and measures. It runs: "If we are able to tell the truth ninety percent of the time, why complain about a mere ten percent of falsehood? Ninety is much more than ten." This tenet admits one to the Temple of the Almost Virgins, a temple to which film-makers resort when they lack sufficient courage for their convictions. Integrity has become a tiresome, almost meaningless word in the modern lexicon, used—as it is now—by advertising men about TV commercials. But if we're going to fake, let's at least fake cleverly. The endings of films like *Stage Struck* commit a worse artistic sin than loss of integrity: they are incredible.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

RECORDS

The Standard Repertory

It was during a rehearsal of Schubert's *Unfinished* Symphony for the 1957 Festival Casals de Puerto Rico that Casals suffered his heart attack; and Columbia's recordings of the festival include one, on ML-5236, of a part of that rehearsal. One hears the orchestra tuning and practicing, then quieting down for Casals, who says "Today we shall play—play—and you sing—everybody—and we shall be all [happy]," and who interrupts the first phrase with a sharp "First note! First note!" to obtain the full expressive value of that note. (One recalls Toscanini's "Begin with the first note, not with the second!") Regrettably the rehearsal is poorly reproduced and not everything Casals says can be heard clearly and understood; but there is enough here that is interesting and moving.

The festival proceeded without Casals; and the record also offers one of the orchestral performances conducted by Alexander Schneider in his place—a lively and fine-sounding performance of Bach's Suite No. 1, one of the pieces of his in which I hear only a routine and uninteresting exercise of his expert craftsmanship. And in addition the record offers his engaging *Capriccio on the Departure of His Beloved Brother*, with some of Serkin's more sensitive playing of music and the piano.

Two other performances of the festival are on Columbia ML-5237. Mozart's Piano Quartet K.493 in E flat, less frequently heard than the more immediately imposing K.478 in G minor, but rich in lovely detail, is played with sensitiveness and spirit by Eugene Istomin, Isaac Stern (whose tone is veiled), Milton Katims and Mischa Schneider. And Schubert's early Sonata Op. 137 for violin and piano, an unfamiliar piece which surprises one by turning out to be far more original and consequential than his other early pieces, with extraordinary writing in the first movement, is played very well by Alexander Schneider and Mieczyslaw Horszowski except for the curiously mannered style they adopt for the second subject of the first movement, and Schneider's occasionally wiry tone.

Of the dozen piano concertos that are Mozart's most elaborately organized, most fascinating and impressive instrumental works, one of the less frequently played is K.491, with its powerful open-

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ing movement in C minor and the wonderful variation-writing of its finale. The Schnabel recording withdrawn by Victor may be reissued by HMV; meanwhile Angel 35501 offers playing by Gieseking which, though it doesn't have the cohesive tension and the incisive outline of Schnabel's phrasing, does have the merit of achieving something bigger and stronger than Gieseking's usual delicate miniature style in Mozart. The rich orchestral detail is beautifully realized in the London Philharmonia's playing under Von Karajan; but I must add that the strings are reproduced with brashness and sharpness that necessitate reduction of treble. The second side is filled out with Gieseking's performance of Chopin's Barcarolle.

On Angel 35562 Von Karajan conducts the Philharmonia in a performance of Mozart's Symphony K.385 (*Haffner*) that is beautifully wrought but a little finicky and small in scale, as Von Karajan's performances often are—the first movement therefore lacking the power it should have. But with it is a superb performance of Mozart's Divertimento K.287 for strings and horns—including an Adagio movement shaped as a grand vocal declamation that can stand comparison with the one in Toscanini's performance.

In Beethoven's Violin Concerto on Angel 35516 Igor Oistrakh plays with a less fat tone and with simpler phrasing than his father does on Angel 35162; and I therefore like his performance better. But I like even more Grumiaux's tone, phrasing and style in this work on Epic LC-3420. And the Amsterdam Concertgebouw's playing under Van Beinum on the Epic record is even finer than that of the London Pro Arte Orchestra under Schuechter on the Angel record.

The best of Brahms' grandiose orchestral works, the Symphony No. 4, is on Angel 35546, performed well by Klemperer with the London Philharmonia. The performance is untraditional in its steady pace in most of the first movement, but follows tradition in the changes of pace in the finale; and here I prefer Toscanini's following of Brahms' directions to maintain the same tempo throughout the succession of variations of the passacaglia.

Victor has issued a final Camden record with dubbings of Toscanini's recordings with the New York Philharmonic—this one, CAL-375, with the 1929 Haydn *Clock* Symphony, the 1936 *Dawn and Rhine Journey* from Wagner's *Die Goetterdaemmerung* and the 1936 Preludes to Acts 1 and 3 of his *Lohengrin*. The magnificently spacious, solid and lustrous sound of the *Lohengrin* Prelude to Act 1 on the original 78-rpm 14006 was the best achieved in 1936; and CAL-375 gives us a surprising amount of the original solidity and brightness. It also reproduces the solidity of the original sound of the *Goetterdaemmerung* piece to a surprising degree; but violins are a little dim, requiring brightening by additional treble; and a 6-kc cut-off is needed for cleanness. The wonderful Haydn performance is very dim, but can be improved a bit with additional treble; and it too needs a 6-kc cut-off.

I prefer Ansermet's stronger performance of the complete score of Stravinsky's *Petrushka* and the more clearly defined reproduction of it by the older London LL-130, to Monteux's performance with the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra and its reproduction by Victor LM-2113. Monteux does better with the *Firebird* Suite; but I prefer the entire score performed by Ansermet on London LL-1272. And Ansermet's new performance of *Le Sacre du printemps* on London LL-1730 is a good one that is reproduced with present-day spaciousness, clarity and fidelity; but I prefer the greater power and tension of Stravinsky's own performance on Columbia ML-4882 despite its old recorded sound, which is cold but clear.

Stravinsky's latest ballet score, *Agon*, which he performs with the Los Angeles Festival Symphony on Columbia ML-5215, is a piece I get very little from when I listen to it without Balanchine's choreography. And I get even less from his *Canticum Sacrum*, which he performs on the reverse side with the same orchestra, a chorus and Richard Robinson, tenor, and Howard Chitjian, baritone.

B. H. Haggin

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Correspondence

(Continued from page 3)

Western and Central Europe of a disengagement arrangement; and
2) The alternative of NATO rearmament along "conventional" lines, as a substitute for the no-longer effective deterrence of "massive retaliation."

With respect to the consequences of disengagement Mr. King reveals himself as much more worried about Germany than about Russia. The military exclusion of West Germany from the West would drive a wedge between France and Germany, would inspire third-force notions in Germany, would involve Germany in machinations directed at achieving some kind of control over Poland and Czechoslovakia which might make for trouble with Russia, or it might produce a new Rapallo, Nazi-Soviet-Pact style agreement which would leave the West out in the cold. So that it would surely seem that we need a NATO which included West Germany in order to contain West Germany. We need an unrelaxed Cold War against Russia in order to keep from having one against West (or a unified) Germany.

A few questions of the anti-disengagers:

How effective a military alliance can we have that is based upon the participation of a West German partner whom we would not trust around the corner?
Is an agreement with the Russians to settle or mitigate the Cold War (assuming it is susceptible of mitigation or settlement) forever to be deferred on the grounds that it will dissipate the alliance we need, to go on waging that Cold War?
Can we be sure Germany will not disengage herself, especially once the wily Chancellor is no longer around?

The conventional-arms, limited-war deterrent argument is in turn based always upon a danger of aggressive military action by the Russians in Western Europe. NATO aims both at deterring such aggressive action or, failing to deter, at "limited" defense against it. In both circumstances it is assumed that the Russians will be deterred from exceeding the limits of "conventional" warfare by the threat of big bomb war. So that "massive retaliation" is to remain the umbrella under which the Russians and NATO will either stand each other off or fight an old-fashioned war.

For what? For what objective are the Russians likely to wage aggressive limited warfare in Europe from which they can be deterred by the presence of a "conventionally" armed NATO force, which they will surely outnumber and very possibly outarm? The one specific instance mentioned is an East German rebellion. But, as always with the limited-war advocates, Mr. King is confident that "both the West and the Russians will behave rationally—that is in their own self-interest—in a situation such as this one." At the same time it is to be irrationally supposed that West German intervention, on the Tunisian order or more directly, in the Russian suppression of an East German rebellion would . . . almost certainly not be identifiable as open "aggression," would not offer a direct challenge to Soviet military power, and therefore would not be considered by the Russians as adequate cause for them to assume the risks of nuclear annihilation either.

In the one specific instance of likely Russian aggression the Russians are credited with a moderation and a rational acceptance of limits which, in a pro-disengager, would be disdained as utterly naïve. But then nobody has as much confidence in man's rationality and moderation as have the limited-war boys. The pressure, as in the Korean war, to remove the limitations is nothing to worry about. Accidents are nothing to worry about under skies teeming with nuclear-armed jets. "Conventional" is of course a euphemism (since it is intended to include "smaller" nuclear arms) which is supposed simultaneously to reassure and frighten the Russians. The emergence of fourth, fifth, and tenth nuclear powers is nothing to worry about. As long as nations retain the means to wage non-nuclear war (or small nuclear war) they can be counted upon to play the game according to the rules. This is obsolescence in reverse. The small bomb obsolesces the big one; conventional non-nuclear arms should obsolesce the nuclear "pistol"; how about reactivating the bow and arrow?

BEN SHRAGO
Cincinnati, Ohio

. . . Mr. King replies

In my language "conventional" does not include "smaller" nuclear arms. Nor is anything "nothing to worry about," least of all man's rationality. However, the pressure to remove the limits on the Korean War *was* resisted, which is some encouragement that it might happen again. Mr. Shrago and his cynicism to the contrary, the vast majority of wars in history have been limited.

JAMES E. KING, JR.

► *Batista on the Ropes*

SIRS:

On behalf of a group of students viewing the present Cuban situation with increasing concern I should like to commend your article *Batista on the Ropes* (*NR*, April 14). It is, we believe, one of the fairest we have yet seen toward both sides.

ROY GENGEL
Knox College

► *The Toucherino*

SIRS:

We were interested in Mr. Bartley's "Religion at Harvard" (*NR*, April 21), and have been trying ever since to find the meaning of "toucherino" that occurs twice on page 17. If you can help us out, we'd be very grateful.

SISTER MARY JOSEPH, OSH
Convent of St. Helena
Versailles, Kentucky

. . . Mr. Bartley replies

I should like to refer Sister Mary Joseph to Partridge's *Dictionary of the Underworld*. "To put on the toucherino" is a colloquial intensification of "To put on the touch," which is described as "to succeed in getting money or booty in one's vocation . . ."

If she does not have the *Dictionary of the Underworld* in her library, I suggest reading the story in Luke 16: 20-26 (Douay) of Lazarus the beggar, Father Abraham, and the rich man. Lazarus tried to put the toucherino on the rich man and the rich man tried to put the toucherino on Father Abraham; both were rather unsuccessful.

WILLIAM WARREN BARTLEY, III
Cambridge, Masachusets

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